

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

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NO. 3.

Demagogism.

The appeal to the prejudice of one part of the population of this country against any other is so directly destructive of social order that the attempt should everywhere be marked. When a candidate for the Mayoralty appealed, last autumn, to the lowest passions of the unhappy men who haunt grog-shops and live by infamy, he revealed at once his own despair of his cause and the true character of the man whom some respectable citizens, a few years since, publicly besought by letter to stand for Mayor. No sensible man who read those speeches but felt that no civil right whatsoever could be safe in the hands of such a magistrate. He rested his hopes of political success not upon the intelligence of the people, but upon the blind devotion of a crowd of partisans whose passions he sought to inflame. The result of the election showed the popular estimate of the man, and the general appreciation of his course in the canvass.

There are newspapers which are trying the same method in regard to the question of the slaves who are freed by the advance of the army. They strive to excite the meanest hatreds in order to produce anarchy, in which but one class only must inevitably be involved. They represent the free colored people as an utterly idle, worthless thieving mass of persons. The falsehood of these statements it is useless to controvert, because truth is not the object for which they are urged.

It is instructive, nevertheless, to know, as Senator Wilson said in reply to Senator Davis, of Kentucky, who had condescended to repeat the stories which should only be found in base mouths and treacherous newspapers, that in the District of Columbia the free colored people, although under the hopeless ban of belonging to a hated and enslaved race, support themselves, as a class, by their own thrif, support their churches and schools, care for their sick and dying, bury their dead, and help support schools for the education of white children whence their own are excluded. Could there be a more pitiful spectacle for God and history than a

party of intelligent men belonging to a powerful, prosperous, proud nation, of thirty millions of people trying to keep their heel upon four millions of an unfortunate race, and using every kind of mean subterfuge to insure success, instead of considering by what means every man can wisely be lifted into the enjoyment of the rights with which God endowed all men?

Especially in this country, where, if any thing is settled beyond dispute, it is that freedom and not slavery is to be the national policy, and consequently that slavery is to be ended, lawfully and peacefully as all good citizens hope, whoever by venomous appeals seek to avert the inevitable development of our civilization and common sense, is the enemy of every decent man and honest citizen.—[Harper's Weekly.

Female Purity.

In the perfect virtue of woman there is a defensive armor which is villain-proof. It is doubtless a harsh judgment to say that no woman is ever dishonorably approached who has not first signified her permission; that no man ever dares to invade her sanctuary, unless he first finds the enclosures down and sees a beckoning hand across the line. Sometimes a heart that knows no evil, is so far betrayed as to be insulted; but there's plausibility and verisimilitude even in the former postulate. For there is always a battle of spirits fought in the air before a foot approaches or a hand is raised.

It is in this preliminary battle of soul with soul, of eye to eye, of the celestial aura and effluvium, radiated by virtue against the Tartarian exhalations of vice; it is this preliminary battle that prophecies the fate of the other. Hence there is a female purity that no villainy can invade, for though its weapons are an ethereal essence only, yet they are swift as lightning and solid as porphyry; and whoever dares encounter them perishes like the Israelite who trod upon the foot of Sinai when Jehovah thundered on its summit.—*Horace Mann.*

Two Letters.

The following letters were addressed, in response to invitation, to a reform Conference recently assembled in New York City. It has been suggested that we publish them, and we have no objection. We do not intend to make it a point to criticise all of what we publish that we do not fully endorse; but we most respectfully protest against the depreciating spirit Mr. Overton exhibits. In looking back over the history of the Planet, and viewing the progress that has been made, and calculating the future by the past, there would seem to be occasion for reverent gladness and joyous hopefulness, rather than dissatisfaction.

The subjects proposed to be discussed at the Conference were the following:

I. The Present, and probable Future of the American Nation.

II. The relation the Church should bear to the State.

III. The present Commercial System, and the need of Beneficent Unitary Commerce.

IV. The Educational System of America, and what Education should be to meet the wants of this age.

V. The Proper Relation of the Sexes, and the Rights of each.

VI. True Freedom, its Responsibilities and its Limitations.

VII. A New Social State, suited to the present wants.

VIII. The Advantage of Union between Nations, Races, and Planets.

IX. True Heroism,—what is it?

X. Spiritual Laws and Spiritual Entities,—the importance of their Recognition in the work before us.

XI. The Advantages to be derived from a proper Combination of means and of persons.

XII. The practicability of interweaving the Old with the New, and thus constructing a New Church, a New State, a New Heaven, and a New Earth.

BERLIN, O., March 2d, '62.

A. E. NEWTON, AND OTHERS:—*Dear Friends*—I very much regret my inability to attend the conference to which through your kindness I have the honor of being invited. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to meet with you while you deliberate on the great questions before you. Be assured that my heart goes with you, and that whatever success may attend your efforts you have my sympathies and my prayers in your every endeavor.

I have a deep interest in all the subjects named in your circular and a special interest in some of them.

If in topic No. 2, you mean the present Church and the present State, I say they have no business together even to the extent they have been, and are. The farther they are apart the better for all concerned. The Church is nothing but an unregenerated old harlot—rich only in paint and feathers. Pride and ambition instead of love, rule in her heart. She knows nothing of religion except in name. She has no right to rule for she could not rule well. She is a sham, a pretender. And the cultivated instinct of the age has discovered the fact.

The State says to the Church: You know nothing more of God, nothing more of religion, than I do. And it says truly. It is simply a question of legitimacy. The State is right in declining to be governed by something that has nothing more of the elements of legitimate power about it than itself. Every man has a right to be his own master or governor, till he finds somebody wiser and better than himself—one who can and will do better for him than he can do for himself alone. And every body of men has the same right. And further, no man has any right to delegate authority over his own soul to a fool or a knave, for he demoralizes his master while he degrades himself. His affairs are quite as badly administered and he gains nothing from the self-discipline which comes from experience.

The present Church and State, then, do well to be divorced. But religion in Government is indispensable. No State can well administer government till it is baptised into that spirit of love which is the essence of religion and which the Church should possess. Any Government which does not proceed from that religious element which must form the basis of any true Church is a tyranny—a usurpation and a sham.

There can be, then, no real government till it is vivified by the vital elements of the true Church, for the principles which are necessary to the one are indispensable to the other. There can be no true society till the State is united to the true Church.

“The proper relation of the sexes,” are those in which each human soul finds the counterpart to that which he feels within him—his other self. Not your artificial kind—the sham which the priest or the justice palms off upon you, and bids you cherish under the name of wife—as if there were need of commanding a man to love a part of himself.

Not the bogus substitute which Free Love [so called.—ED.] proffers you, with all the mental cages and fences, the spiritual barricades which fear creates in the shape of sighs and heart-aches, envies and jealousies which rack the tortured heart of insecurity, lest the “eternal” mate forget its partner and seek some other love. As if a real individuality, however dualized would entertain a doubt of retaining its identity—a fear that a part of self would ever fly off from itself.

The genuine duality is not that in which the head needs be commanded to look after the interests of the stomach, nor in which the body is under constant concern of mind lest its legs and feet, its hands and fingers meet some other “attraction” and fly off in search of some other “affinity.” Whatever be the true relation of the sexes we may rest assured it is not this. Whatever the genuine be, this is bogus. The marriage of the skies has no such togetherness as this, in which fear and force are ever on the alert to compel the eternal fitness of things. The laws of God need no such re-enactments.

The normal, legitimate, primeval, “relation” of the sexes have never yet been attained on earth, and if I may venture into the sphere of prophecy, they never will be. Never till the straying vagrants, the prodigal sons and daughters of earth get back to the sphere from which they fell, will they come into their proper relations, and discover that they have been off on a fool’s errand,—setting up on their own hook with neither credit nor capital.

The Rights of the sexes are the same that the original Adams had in the first place. The right to find out each for himself what a fool he was in setting up for himself,—in supposing that he could improve on the Divine plan—to learn that neither one man nor all humanity knows as much as God.

The Rights of man in sexuality as in all the other relations of life are summed up in the one great right to freedom—freedom to be a fool—at his own expense always—and learn the first great fact that pertains to his well being; that he is a fool—the right to go to hell his own way, either on foot or on horse-back, only so he leave all the roads unobstructed for others, without compelling their company.

And inasmuch as the mission of life—the great object of existence in this sphere is the one stated, to ascertain you are a fool, so he who interferes with that freedom of action which is indispensable to that ascertaining, is an enemy of human weal. The whole rationale of the matter—the whole

philosophy of freedom is found in the fact that all men have a right (inalienable) to ascertain the great pivotal fact of their mission, and that one man has as good a right to be a fool as another.

If man acts from compulsion any failure to attain happiness is not his, and he will always fancy that he could do better, and if he have not freedom he will go through life without having learned its lesson.

Firstly, then, the sexes have a right to tie themselves in pairs (lest they should at some time want to separate) promising at the same time all manner of foolish and impossible things as to how they will feel to each other. Secondly, they have a right to untie themselves; and thirdly, they have a right to tie themselves up again as often as they please, as tightly or as loosely as they please, in pairs or by the dozen, just as the parties concerned can agree. They have a right to prove by actual experiment, first, that marriage is a failure, second, that Free Love is a failure—that duality, either in marriage or out, is a failure, and that variety is a failure also. They have a right to try all manner of experiences and see the folly of them,—to carry it even as far as a Chesterfield or a Solomon, and learn that it is all “vanity and vexation of spirit.”

Yes, all men have, and women, too, a right to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” This is well stated. When men and women have tried it long enough, either in this sphere or the next, they will find that it is all “pursuit” and no “happiness.” When they have grasped at gilded bubbles and ashen apples enough. When they have done enough at chasing Will o’ the Wisps, and following rainbows for the fabled pot of money, they will at last discover that all their efforts are fruitless and more than fruitless. And when tired, exhausted and despairing, they sit down by the way-side of life, to ponder upon its blighted hopes and ruined expectations, and realize that existence here is but an endless chain of disappointments, they will perchance reflect that there is something wrong, and mayhap may ask themselves, “am I not in the wrong road?” Can it be that the path of Right and Duty, the course approved by Heaven, would be thus embittered by disappointments and strewn with overrunning thorns? And if they push the investigation far enough, they may after having written “Humbug” upon all societary schemes and human institutions, put human life into the crucible and write the same of that.

Yes, my friends, the original fraud, the one great primeval humbug, the necessity and embodiment of all other humbugs, is life itself, in its present shape. The one great “institution” which

needs renovating, "reconstructing" and regenerating, is man—the *animal* man of the present.

There is no possibility of making a good building out of poor materials, and as man is the one sole material which must enter into the construction of any Church, State or Society whatever, it follows that there will be no true Church or State—no true social system till man himself becomes pure and good. It is but a partial truth that institutions make men. The whole truth is that men make institutions. First get your bricks and then develope the plan of your house. But there is no use in thinking of building when you have nothing but "hay, wood and stubble," to work into the walls.

The proper relations of the sexes—of man to man, and man to woman, are legitimate subjects of consideration, in their order; but they are secondary in their importance. The one great, all-important question is; What is the proper relation of man to his maker, or the higher order of intelligences that gave him being! Is he living in accordance with the laws of the higher life? Is he fulfilling the plans of the Eternal mind? Is he carrying out the programme instituted in the beginning? Is he obedient to those higher laws of his spiritual being indicated by his nature, as a *spirit*, and the eternal fitness of things. Is he living in accordance with the decrees of Infinite Wisdom and Goodness, or is he disobedient, distrustful, ignorant, and conceited, arrogant and presumptuous, and led by his own headstrong folly to ignore his true relation as a spirit to the Father of Spirits, and thus come into false relations with himself and with all around him.

But, though I believe all efforts at external reform must fail to meet the vital point, and be but temporary and partial in their effects, they may yet do some good, and I say all honor to the brave souled, honest hearted infidel who would strike at branches of the tree of evil when he cannot get at, or does not know the location of, the root. God bless (as he will) every honest effort at human amelioration, however ill conceived and ill directed.

For myself, I have at times, long considered this Planet a kind of Botany Bay or Blackwell for the rest of the Universe, and I almost fear it is past redemption. I almost despair of seeing anything made out of this present race of humans, worthy of any great soul's highest ideal. And if I were God I should feel inclined to rub out and begin anew. I don't blame him for the flood at all. The only mistake I see was in saving Noah and his miserable progeny. I am impatient of the tardy progress of growth—a growth so slow as hardly to be percep-

tible. Who can think of waiting on "the laws of progress" to "develop" this present race of "bodies lacking souls"—moral dwarfs and spiritual pygmies, up to a standard of decent manhood. God have mercy on this green old earth if it is destined yet for centuries and cycles of centuries, to be run over, devastated and ravished by the hordes of vermin that now vegetate in her sides, and roll and tumble in the sores they make. Let us hope for better things. Let us pray that the grand old Planet may yet find strength to shake herself. Blow, Gabriel, blow! Respectfully,

C. M. OVERTON.

CLEVELAND, O., March 21, 1862.

To A. E. NEWTON, AND OTHERS:—You are gathered to consider momentous questions. May the great Wisdom guide you in your deliberations and lead you to correct conclusions.

No more important or interesting subjects could you have chosen for consideration. I should like to say a word on each of them: 1st, The present of our Nation is one of trial, doubt and dark foreboding. Thick and dark clouds loom up in the political horizon. A storm more terrific and dreadful than mortal man has yet witnessed, is ere long to burst upon this Nation;—the "Ship of State" will be dashed to a thousand fragments, and not one stone of the political edifice be left upon another. Blood will flow in torrents, and wild terror seize upon all classes of the people. But the storm will spend its wrath, and be succeeded by sunshine, bright hopes, and no less bright realization. A simple, just and free government will be established; order, peace and justice reign, equal rights be enjoyed, and plenty, and happiness, and general good will, will abound.

2nd, The business of the State is to protect the natural rights of the people. This and this only is its legitimate business. The business of a true Church would seem to be to promote the moral and spiritual unfolding. The State is to enforce justice, and see to it that freedom is enjoyed by all. The Church is to teach the religion of justice, and freedom;—that the highest duty of man is to promote his own unfolding and happiness, and recognize in every human being an equal brother, possessing the same rights, and inheriting the same destiny. However distinct then the functions of Church and State, their general character and aims are common. 3d, The "present commercial System" is one of fraud and plunder; yet potent in bringing Humanity up to a certain plain of development. It must gradually, yet thoroughly be superceeded by a system that shall ensure a common interest to

buyer and seller. The Laws of Trade are benificial—a part of God—and ensure such results and conditions in the commercial world as the needs of the people demand. The needs of the past are unlike the needs of the future. Inequality, overreaching, speculation, trickery and a general playing at grab game, have all been in order, and will be done away just as soon and fast as the moral and spiritual condition of the people make a different state of things possible or desirable. Supply and demand is the eternal, immutable law.

4th, A true education is a knowledge of so much of the spiritual and material Universe as we are capable of comprehending. That is a false, or at least imperfect system which ignores the investigation of any department of knowledge, by any human being capable of understanding any thing in that department. The study of the Science of Man, his nature and wants, physical, spiritual, social, and affectional, is the most essential and important part of a true education.

5th, The "proper relation of the sexes" is one of perfect equality, and each has a right to do whatever is indicated by qualification and function.

6th, "True freedom" consists in being true to the laws of one's being, and infringing the rights of no other. Its "responsibilities" consist in bearing all costs its own acts involve. Freedom has no limitations, for all action is legitimate that does not involve an infringement of rights, and whatever does this is not freedom. Freedom is the freedom of all. The moment one trespasses upon another's rights—upon another's freedom—the great principle of freedom is violated; such action is not freedom. Freedom is as sacred and God-like as justice, right or truth. It no more admits a limit than they.

7th, The new Social State will be indicated by the spiritual unfolding. Nothing can be done arbitrarily. The influences that develope men and women, will found a new social state. There is nothing but manhood and womanhood. This impresses itself everywhere, and institutions are the result. Manhood, in whatever degree, is the basis, the root. Institutions are nothing; man is everything. Institutions never make men. Men always make institutions like themselves. As fast and as far as men are born into the higher life, so fast and so far will you have a new and a better Social State.

8th, Amalgamation is the universal law. But not of incongruous elements. Commerce in magnetism, is the most important practical idea in the Universe. The tendency of the spiritual forces towards equilibrium, brings planets, races, nations and

individuals into right relations, and promotes the individual and general good. Freedom for the operation of these forces, and no damnation of the currents of the life of the Universe, and all goes well.

9th, "True heroism" is to be always and everywhere manly; never shirking or cringing; always speaking and acting the truth, and running the risk of the heavens falling.

10th, The sphere of manhood is to the sphere of the angel life, as the sphere of childhood is to the sphere of manhood. We are dependent upon the spirit world as the child is dependent upon the parent. Those overgrown and overimportant children who scorn to acknowledge their dependence upon the guidance of the spirit world, are just as wise and sensible as those children of a smaller growth who dislike to acknowledge a wisdom superior to their own. The spiritualities are the realities, the tangibilities are the shadows.

11th, Everything is gained by a "proper combination of persons and means," and everything is lost by a false combination of them. Time and means are worse than thrown away if the principle of adaptation in effort is not observed. If there is one kind of stupidity more fatal than another it is a brainless blindness to *distinctions in character*. With a true knowledge of, and obedience to, this principle, and all labors will be abundantly efficient; otherwise dissatisfaction and inglorious failure will result.

12th, There is good in all the past. The future is only a multiplication of that good. The future is built on the past. The future is only an unfolding and a bringing out into a more perfect fullness and fragrance and beauty, the goods the past has too imperfectly comprehended. All things good and glorious the Universe has in store, the future shall bring to us. Let us gladly, faithfully, untiringly, happily, labor to bring the grand fulfillment.

FRANCIS BARRY.

Errata.

In Dr. Powell's article, last number, page 27, last line on first column, for *natural* mind, read *material* mind.

In the article of J. S. P., second number, 23d, page, first column, 11th line from bottom, for *views* read *vices*.

In Mary E. Tillotson's article, second number 27th page, second column, first line, instead of "hesitate to comply," read "hesitate *not* to comply."

In Etta Everdale's article, second number, 30th page, second column, second line of third paragraph, for *absolving* read *absorbing*.

A Very Valuable Discovery.

COVINGTON, Ky., April 3d, 1862.

MR. EDITOR:—I have discovered a prophylactic against those forms of disease which are incidental to Southern latitudes, and as many of our brave men may be required to be in the South the coming summer, I feel it to be my duty to make this discovery known. Not that I expect that the medical profession either in or out of the army will adopt it, within less than a century after my demise, because to do so would be an outrage upon time honored precedents, but others may try it.

For twenty years I was an itinerant citizen of Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee, and never having been a disciple of the mythical doctrine of Marsh-miasm, I was prepared to allow every observed fact its true value. My first observation was upon those wood-choppers who performed their labor, resting, feeding and sleeping almost exclusively in the shade of the forest, and who I observed entirely escaped the so denominated malarial fevers.

My next observation was directed to those who labored in the shade of the forest, but had their resting, feeding and sleeping with their families respectively in log cabins located in the midst of an acre or so of culinary vegetables; not only these men, but their families respectively were prostrated every summer and autumn with intermitting fevers. My third variety of observations were directed to those comparatively few who labored in the summer's sun but did their feeding, resting and sleeping in the shade of the forest. These people invariably escaped the malarial fevers. These observations being repeated through a series of several years, forced me by a careful generalization of them, to the conclusion that men could labor in the hot sun of the south with an entire exemption from malarial fevers by having their resting, feeding and sleeping in the forest shade.

Shortly after coming to the preceding conclusion one of my brothers resolved upon becoming a cotton planter. His land was in the State of Mississippi, and in what was thought to be the most sickly section of it, and surrounded by overflowed lands, marshes, lagoons and stagnant ponds of water. He was assured by many that if he settled upon his land he would lose all his slave force and probably all his white family. This was more than he was willing to hazard unadvisedly, hence he made me a visit at New Orleans to consult me on the subject; and as my instructions to him will be sufficient for any one else and in any district of our country, and as, at his request I gave him his instructions in writing I will repeat them here.

"Select an area of four or five acres of your land that is covered with a tall and thirsty forest, with a surface sufficiently elevated and rolling to drain it readily of all rain water, give no attention to the vi-

cinity of ponds of stagnant water or marsh land, clear it of all brush-wood so thoroughly that an equestrian in the dark could not have his hat disturbed; build your own mansion and those of your negroes in this forest, and so locate them if possible that a direct ray of the sun cannot reach them in summer between the hours of ten o'clock A. M., and three o'clock P. M. If the brush-wood is sufficiently removed the morning and evening sun will reach them, and this is desirable. I further suggest that you build the stables for your work horses in this forest, and when you have done building &c., set the ground with blue or some other grass, and keep it fed down by calves or sheep."

He observed my instructions to the letter, and for seven years he did not have one case of malarial disease. I further enjoined that not even a garden spot should be cultivated within fifty yards of any one of his human habitations, and that it should be a rule that no one of his laborers should for the period of thirty minutes be idle or rest in the sun. But as his planting force was probably half a mile from his planting lands, and cotton was commanding a large price, and as he supposed his people had become acclimated, he moved his negro houses to within a hundred yards of his planting land, and to a southwestern exposure to the sun, and without shade. The negroes cultivated in culinary vegetables every square foot of the land about their cabins. The consequence of the change was, that before his crop was made, every negro he had was sick, except one old one. Although cotton commanded a high price, he concluded to grow a little less cotton and have health with his negroes. Consequently he moved his negroes back into the forest, and there lived to the close of his life, which on that place was twenty-two years, and had no sickness except an occasional case of rheumatism or pleurisy, in the winter.

I have, Mr. Editor, as thoroughly demonstrated this doctrine as ever I did a geometrical theorem. I have induced Southern planters to move their negro houses out of their cotton fields into the adjacent forest, and the uniform result was a subsequent exemption from sickness and mortality.

It is true, Mr. Editor, that negroes can live and labor in the South with a greater exemption from mortal consequences than white people can; but Sir they cannot labor in the hot sun all the day and sleep at night in a cabin heated to the normal temperature of the human body, without becoming prostrated by disease.

I have no doubt that you as well as myself have heard it contended, as an apology for Slavery, that white men cannot cultivate cotton and sugar. I have always been the advocate of Slavery, but I am still a stronger advocate of civil liberty, and if Slavery be incompatible with it, then I am for the abolition of Slavery, although it may not be the best for the negro, and at present I am not prepared to think

that it would; but of this enough at present. I am sure that white men—the whitest of them—the Teutons, can labor, travel or fight under an exposure to any Southern sun that is known to this continent, at least; if they will do all their feeding, resting and sleeping, in a dry and ventilated forest. Upon this subject I have ceased to entertain a doubt.

W. BYRD POWELL, M. D.

Wendell Phillips.

This gentleman, known throughout the United States as an abolitionist, made, in Cleveland on Wednesday evening, a speech upon the war. Those who were so fortunate as to hear it were ready to give its author a galaxy of sounding titles. He who can hold spell-bound a large audience for nearly two hours, while with the plainest and direcdest conversational tact he amuses and instructs them, must be an orator.

He who at this time, when brave men are fighting gallantly for the flag they love, can talk of them and of their cause, and enlist the sympathy and call down the applause of an auditory composed of earnest and intellectual men, must be a patrict. He who can draw comparisons between the doings of nations for all of a century, and form opinions which are endorsed by the leading men of the age, and urge claims which, as civilization advances, the sober sense of the time acknowledges as practicable, must be a statesman.

Now Mr. Phillips is furthermore a scholar, a man well read, and because of travel and culture, one of the best informed men in America. It is most true that he has given his life powers to the constant war upon slavery, and that he has become most obnoxious to the slaveholders of the South and the pseudo-Democratic party of the North. The men who ever held that slavery should go where it pleased, and refuse to read or to hear read in the right manner the clause in the Constitution giving to Congress the right to prohibit it in the Territories, as a matter of course must very much dislike the man who would not have it go there, but who would dissolve the Union rather than that it should remain intrenched where it is. Every man has a right to his own opinion. Mr. Phillips thinks that it was the intention of the founders of this government to keep slavery for a time, because they could not, as they thought, at once abolish it. He thinks they should have done so at any cost. He also thinks they hoped and believed that in a few years it would be entirely abolished. As the Constitution, however, protected an evil and a disgrace, he has honestly fought against it.

* * * * *

We are sorry that the people who unwittingly upbraid the course of Mr. Phillips, not caring to hear from him what that course is, but only judging from hearsay, and perverting even that gratuit-

ous information by prejudice, will not go and hear him talk, and then judge the motives of the man. They would be told by him more truths in an hour than their favorite speakers have been in the habit of giving utterance to in thrice the time. They could, if they would, see that it is the self-same country which the Puritan prayed for, and the Revolutionary soldier died for, and the army of the North are battling for, which Mr. Phillips hails in the future as

“—the land of the Free.”

—[Cleveland Leader.

Who is my Brother and Sister.

BY AUGUSTA COOPER KIMBALL.

Who is my brother? 'tis the man
Who speaks with gentle tone;
Whose kind words, born of heart and soul,
Sink deep into my own;
Whose mild reproof is full of love,
That heals the wound he makes;
Who owns me for a sister still,
Though all the world forsakes.

Not only those who clustered near
My honest father's knee,
Who sat beside the hearth-stone fire,
Are brothers unto me;
But he is one, who from my heart
Plucks out the sin-stamped scroll,
Remembering in his soft rebuke,
I yet possess a soul.

Who is my sister? it is she
Whose heart is always young,
And Slander's bitter poison drops,
Ne'er drip from off her tongue:
Her loving chidings, ever fraught
With tenderness and glee,
Lift up my soul; 'tis such alone
Are sisters unto me.

Not only those who traced with care
My mother's placid brow,
Who took her gentle, good-night kiss,
Are sisters to me now;
But she who checks the starting tear,
Bids me look up and live,
Who reads my tempted human heart,
And reading, can forgive.

Such are the fearless souls, and free,
Who walk on Wisdom's height,
And with the lamp of Truth they search
For Justice and the Right.
Their hearts of tender charity,
My pilots o'er life's sea,
My stars—are all that make the world
Seem beautiful to me.

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

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NEW REPUBLIC,
CLEVELAND, Ohio.

Can the Government Abolish Slavery?

The best of men are not always logical. A great many people, at last, are in favor of having Slavery abolished. This is a hopeful sign of the Times, without any question. But that Government has any more right to abolish Slavery than it always had, is not for a moment to be admitted. Slavery should be considered and treated as an outlaw; so it always should have been. Slavery is no worse now than it was ten or fifty years ago. The Government is organized the same, the Constitution is the same, now as then. If Government can abolish Slavery now, it could then.

I am not in favor of Slavery. I am not in favor of recognizing as valid or binding any law sanctioning Slavery, or any other outrage upon rights. The business of Government is to protect rights. No man or body of men is worthy of any respect or attention any further than they are in their place, attending to their duty, performing their legitimate functions. Government, in its sphere, is to be honored, revered, obeyed. The Clergyman, Physician, Teacher, Mechanic, are all worthy of respect and attention so long as they are properly attending to that which they understand, that which comes within their legitimate province. But out of their sphere, attending to that which does not concern them, outraging rather than benefitting their follows, they forfeit all claim to special regard. So of Government. It is worthy of respect and obedience only so far as it is true to its mission and trust.

One of two things is sure; either the Government is utterly unworthy of respect for not having, ere this, wiped out this stupendous enormity, or it has not now the power to do it. There is only this difference between the present and the past; there is now a strong anti-slavery feeling, while in the past humane sentiment has been swallowed up in indifference and love of gain. Let the Nation acknowledge its error, recognize Gerrit Smith, William Goodell and Lysander Spooner as the true expounders of the Constitution, put on sackcloth for its past heartless inhumanity, and declare Slavery an outlaw, and that it never had a right to live, or cease to talk of the present power of the Government to abolish it.

Anti-Slavery feeling is a good thing; we have

got none too much of it. But let us have logic with philanthropy. There is altogether too much looseness in the popular way of viewing and treating things.

My point is here; either Gerrit Smith is right, and Slavery is an outlaw, and Government has only to move forward and suppress it as it would piracy, without any extra legislation at all: or, the popular interpretation of the Constitution is correct, Slavery has a legal existence, and cannot be abolished except by the States themselves. The rebellion makes no difference with the rights of the States, or with the rights of loyal Slaveholders. Government can only suppress the rebellion and punish the rebels. Slaves may be set at liberty, any possible number of them, if, as they do, they, as slaves, stand in the way of the suppression of the rebellion. But this requires no action of the Government. It is an indisputable military power, and any officer who has a right to fall a tree, as a "military necessity," or capture a piece of cannon, may, on the same principle, liberate every Slave he comes to, and need be amenable to higher authority in the one case, only as in the other. Congress has nothing to do, directly, with "military necessity." It may indicate sentiments, as the people may, but it is for the military power to liberate Slaves. Inexpressibly stupid has been the course of our Generals in this matter.

But while the rebellion is to be suppressed, and while every Slave may be liberated if military necessity demands it, yet at the close, Slavery, as a legal institution, remains the same, and the Slave States remain the same, equal members of the Union. The General Government cannot interfere with the rights of the States. As I have before urged, there are but two things before us; either to reinstate the Union on its old basis, Slavery and all, or to so reconstruct the Government as that Slavery, and the Slave States too, if need be, may be left out. I need not repeat that I am in favor of the latter, or that I consider the former supremely absurd, and utterly impossible.

But do not talk of a legal abolition of Slavery, under the present order of things. Let us have order. It is bad to do a good thing lawlessly or loosely. Do one thing or another, and be consistent.

Shall We Have Government.

Many persons, including some of the NEW REPUBLIC contributors, take the ground that after men become just and orderly we shall have no need of a Government. This view, it seems to us, is calculated to discourage a proper interest in the establishment of true governmental arrangements. Doubtless we shall need fewer or no Constables, and less or no outlay for means of defense; but instead of having less of Government, we shall have more. The trouble is, not that we have had too much of government, but that we have had too little. We

have had too much of certain kinds—the less of such kinds the better—but never enough of true government. To illustrate: the city of Cleveland has few policemen, yet there is more order and less of crime than in many a city with a policeman at every corner. Have we more of real government, or less. I say more. That is, a given outrage would be more likely to be suppressed and punished here than some otherwheres. The fact that law and order are not violated, is no proof that the law or government, does not exist. Is there government in Heaven? Most assuredly, and the disorderly character who should get in there would soon learn the fact, in finding himself pitched out. The fact that there happen to be no law breakers there, is no proof that there is no law there, but rather proof that there is. The doctrine that "that Government is best that governs least" is true, and a very important truth; but in this sense—government has no legitimate business except to protect the rights of the people, but as all governments have been very busy doing other and very mischievous things, it is true that the less they do the better. But keeping within its legitimate bounds, and attending to its legitimate business, and so proving itself to be a Government in the true sense of the term the more effectually and thoroughly it does this the better. And always shall we want, and more and more shall we have, true government, though there be not a sinner left in the Universe. The law of Gravitation is the same, though there are no apples to fall.

As to whether certain governmental organizations will pay the effort to make anything of, may be a question, but in some way let us do what we can to develop as true a government as possible, and strive to more and more perfect it, rather than to leave governing to the class who themselves need governing.

Wanted on Deck.

THE NEW REPUBLIC.—This is the title of a neatly printed 16-page octavo pamphlet, hailing from Cleveland, Ohio, the first number of which we find upon our table asking us for an "exchange." The number before us seems to be well got up, both in its mechanical and editorial departments, and is devoted to General Reform. Though why so comely a craft as the "NEW REPUBLIC" should keep her officers and crew below decks, we cannot divine! Come, Mr. Republic, fling your pennant to the breeze, let your pilot assume his lookout upon the deck, and muster your captain and officers upon your quarter, that the public may get a view of them.

"Exchange?" of course we will! For we believe in extending the ~~key~~ of fellowship to all who are laboring in the great field of reform. Published weekly at one dollar a year.—[Rising Tide.

As to showing our colors, it seems to us our

friend had better look again. If there were not PRINCIPLES enough laid down in the first number of the NEW REPUBLIC to indicate our position, let the fact be stated and we will try again. As to the captain coming on deck just to be looked at, he does not propose to do it. If our craft does not sail well, or any evidence of neglect of duty on the part of her "officers" is exhibited, say so, and we will try and have it remedied. If we command a fine craft, all the more reason for feeling modest.

No Paper Last Week.

A variety of circumstances, such as moving, fitting up office, moving and fitting up press, getting a quantity of potatoes from the country to the city, being hindered by rain, &c., &c., all conspired to prevent our getting out No. 3 last week as we confidently expected to do. We made some efforts, such as working till wet through in the rain, working from daylight till dark without stopping to eat breakfast or dinner, working on to the "small hours," striving to head off the necessity of getting behind time, but all to no purpose. But we have derived consolation from the reflection that God himself couldn't make the world in a day—that it took him a whole week. Our motto is "ANYTHING can be done"; but we have wisely concluded that it takes time to do some things. We are now snugly quartered, and do not apprehend a change for the next few months at least. We have a strong working force, and if anything occurs to interrupt our course, it will be something not now looked for.

To Correspondents.

L. A. D. A.—We will do all you ask. Thank you for your interest in the New Republic. Prof. Powell's address is Covington, Ky.

LIZZIE M. A. C.—Letter, money and names received. We thank you in our inmost heart very often, for your efforts for "our" Paper.

U. R. HORNER.—We can send no more of first No. as specimens. Have a very few left for those who subscribe. Will send your brother No.'s 2 and 3.

Prof. POWELL.—We will forward the copies to the persons you name. Your article on the Negro will appear in our next.

Mrs. C. B.—We do not mean to write many long articles. But still our Journal is not like a daily paper to be read in a fevered hurry; but more, in this respect, like the Reviews, whose articles are invariably long, to be read in a thoughtful, leisurely mood. We know people are very fast now-a-days, but some of them we trust will "hold on" long enough to read the New Republic articles.

MILO A. TOWNSEND,
DEALER IN
BOOKS, STATIONARY, WALL PAPER,
Toys and Fancy Articles,
NEWBRIGHTON, PA.

Physiological Series.

BY W. BYRD POWELL, M. D.

CHAPTER II.

THE PHYSIOLOGICAL LAWS OF MARRIAGE.

In 1844, while traveling, I witnessed a family condition which induced me to suspect very strongly that there did, at least occasionally, obtain between the respective sexes a physiological incompatibility with reference to the reproductive function. The phenomena I observed were entirely beyond my comprehension, though aided by all the learning and knowledge I had acquired of the medical profession, of which I had always been an industrious investigator. Finding myself entirely unable to comprehend the phenomena I had observed, I became impressed with the suspicion above named. In this emergency I resolved to make progenitors and progeny the objects of my unceasing observation, not doubting that when I should observe facts enough they would reveal to me the whole subject.

I am now seized with the suspicion that my readers are almost painfully solicitous to be informed what the phenomena were that so much arrested my attention. As I think this desire to be laudable, and as it will to some extent, probably, illuminate the subject, and being always willing to gratify a pertinent curiosity, I will inform them.

In calling at a house on the way side I met with a pair of progenitors who had the appearance of being the most healthy, constitutionally sound and fine looking couple I had ever seen. They were not only independent but comfortable livers, and everything about their premises was tastefully, healthfully and comfortably ordered. The country, too, was faultlessly healthy. Whilst thus enjoying all that impressed my senses, three of the most constitutionally depraved children I ever saw, came into my presence; they were respectively affected with a scrofulous disease of the mesenteric or abdominal glands.

The parents of these children were entirely destitute of any indications of having a scrofulous diathesis, and they were greatly surprised that their children should die of scrofulous forms of disease; for, as they informed me, they had lost three children in this way; one by a scrofulous affection of the lungs, and two by a similar affection of the mesenteric glands, and had three more, which I had seen, going the same way.

At the time of making these observations I believed, as every body else did, and still do, that the consanguine relation of progenitors cause them to entail on their progeny a scrofulous constitution; so I enquired of these parents whether they were blood relations? They responded negatively. They further assured me that no scrofulous form of disease had been in their respective ancestors for three

generations, certainly, and that they had no reason to suppose that such had ever been the fact at any time.

At the time of making these observations, I believed, as the profession, generally, now do, that a scrofulous form of disease results from a diathesis inherited from some scrofulous ancestor, either proximate or remote.

Recapitulation; a pair of constitutionally sound progenitors, in a healthy country, with every requisite to secure health and comfort to themselves and their children, had lost three children by scrofulous forms of disease, and in a few weeks would lose three more by the same means. Now the question was, what rendered these children scrofulous? This was the question I desired to solve, and to solve it I made parents and children the subjects of my constant observation. Well, in about three months I obtained the solution, and with it the solution of several other occult questions. The solution comprises the most important discovery ever made in the nature of humanity.

For the purpose of rendering this discovery inservient to all parties, I have devoted more than seventeen years to the discovery of its indices and laws; and have succeeded in reducing it to such practical precision as to render it a certain guide to all young people who desire to avoid becoming the progenitors of idiotic, imbecile or scrofulous children.

It has ever been a stereotyped doctrine of physiologists that good health and normally sound constitutions in progenitors constitute a sure waranty for a sound and viable progeny. Now I aver, and hold myself responsible for it, that a more enormous error was never proclaimed. Nevertheless I admit, that a sound condition of progenitors is of great advantage to progeny. Nevertheless it is in no wise a security against scrofulous forms of disease and consequent mortality. More scrofulous children are now to be found in the families of thrifty and healthy progenitors than in any other class. This conclusion is greatly at variance with popular opinion I know, but statistics will sustain it.

This physiological incompatibility obtains very frequently between the respective sexes, and it has multiplied with a fearful rapidity, under my own observation during the preceding third of a century; and it obtains thus: certain constitutions or temperaments in the parties to a marriage respectively, render them compatible, and certain others incompatible, and there is not a young person in our country who is not, unless acquainted with the indices of this incompatibility, liable to contract an incompatible marriage, and hence become the progenitor of idiots, imbeciles or scrofulous constitutions, and consequently of scrofulous forms of disease. I have no doubt, Mr. Editor, that your city can furnish a hundred examples of physiologically incompatible marriages, and as the parties to them are

sound and healthy their physicians respectively have been greatly puzzled to account for the scrofulous forms of disease to which they have been called. It is now quite a common remark in the profession, "No amount of professional skill can save or cure the children of some people," but they have not yet learned to distinguish the parties whose children cannot be cured. This remark is strictly applicable to the children of incompatible marriages.

The whole of this discovery is embraced by that subject which is known as the human temperaments—a subject that has been before the medical profession two thousand years; and in every college of medicine the importance of a knowledge of the temperaments to the physician becomes the theme of much eloquent declamation, and although the profession generally have some information in this relation yet it is absolutely true that not one percent of the profession in this or any other country know as much about the subject as would be creditable to farmers and mechanics.

It is impossible for me to treat my subject either correctly or lucidly without a direct application of the respective temperaments, and to do this without first treating of the temperaments, and this cannot be done profitably without engraved illustrations, which, Mr. Editor, you cannot afford without a very extensive patronage, and further I have not the time for so minutely scientific a treatment of the subject, but for the benefit of those who desire to acquire a knowledge of the subject I will add that I have in MSS. on my table a volume written on the subject ready for publication, but I cannot inform them when it will be published, but it will not be long I hope. Notwithstanding the difficulty which I have named, being anxious to place this discovery before the popular mind that it may be operating for the abatement of the evils of idiocy, sterility and scrofula, I will make an effort to treat of it in a manner comprehensible to all classes of society.

But I will digress a moment for the purpose of presenting an item of evidence of the great value of the discovery I am about to reveal to them.

After I had to a useful extent developed this discovery, I sent an exposition of it to the New York Scalpel, the editor of which is confessedly one of the most accomplished physicians and surgeons known to this or any other country. He made no notice of it, till opportunity enabled him to become assured that it was true, and then in his comments upon it he concluded with the following sentence: "Dr. Powell presents a claim to the gratitude of the race by the announcement of this great discovery, that will be acknowledged long after his memory only will be cherished as the discoverer of the most important truth ever announced in physiological science."—[Scalpel, New York, July, 1859.

The elementary temperaments are four, namely: the sanguine, the bilious, the lymphatic and the encephalic. About three per cent of the human race

consist of these four temperaments and the remaining ninety-seven per cent are compounds of them. I divide them into two classes, the vital and the non-vital; the first class comprises the sanguine and the bilious. I nominate them the vital, because without the presence of one or the other of them to some extent in every marriage there can be no reproduction. The second or non-vital comprises the lymphatic and the encephalic. I nominate these non-vital because as frequently as I have observed the parties to a marriage to be measurably a compound of these two, I have found their children to have been still born to the extent at least of three-fourths. Now, if my readers understood the temperaments, not only the four elements but also their combinations, I could easily and perspicuously present the physiological laws of marriage.

I think it probable that during the past thirty-seven years I did not for one day, except probably when very sick, fail to give some attention to the human temperaments either by reflection or observation, hence if I were not familiar with them I ought to be, and I think that I am more so than any one else who either has or now lives. It is thought, by some of the most distinguished physiologists known to the profession, that I am the only one who from seeing a denuded skull, can indicate the person, the complexion of the hair, eyes and skin, of the individual during life. Hence it was peculiarly proper that I should make the discovery which I am now revealing to the public. As, Mr. Editor, I cannot reach your readers by a rigidly scientific process which for me would be the most available, I will make the attempt by a process which every reader will understand. As I do not know that my discovery is applicable to all of the species of the genus homo, consequently I confine myself to that species of which our population are representatives, with the exception of Indians and Negroes.

I begin then by dividing our species into three varieties.

Variety I. Consists of those who are but moderately developed in person, but have firm flesh and are generally strong and muscular. The head is of medium size; the forehead is relatively more full and broad across the brows than across the top.

Variety II. This class is indicated by a rather a lean person, moderately firm flesh, muscular strength moderate, head rather above medium or average size, forehead rather more narrow and depressed across the brows than across the top. In this class the forehead is uniformly more or less expanded near the top above the temples.

Variety III. This is the lager beer class—the habit of body is full or rotund, flesh soft, head, generally, large and globular.

Law 1. All persons are incompatible with all those who are of the same class, and if the parties respectively be of the first class or variety, sterility will be the most probable consequence; but if fruit-

ful it will only be in the production of scrofulous sloughs.

As illustrations of this law in reference to the first class or variety, I may cite Gen. Washington and his wife,—Gen. Jackson and his wife, and it is known that sterility was the consequence in both cases.

I will incidentally add that all physiologically incompatible marriages are singularly liable to be attended with sterility, and it would be well if all were, because sterility is preferable to idiotic or scrofulous children.

Law 2. When the parties to a marriage are respectively of the second variety or class the marriage will be attended with either idiotic or imbecile children, but if they escape both of these conditions they will probably die before attaining the age of two years respectively by either dropsy of the brain or brain fever—scrofulous meningitis. Marriages of this kind are furthermore exceedingly liable to abortions and premature births.

Law 3. When the parties respectively to a marriage are of the third variety or class, nothing else than sterility or scrofulous children can be expected, and if the parties be pretty fully developed representatives of the class, their children will be still-born or die before attaining the age of six years respectively, the result being modified by the degree of development respectively.

Law 4. When one of the parties represent variety II., and the other variety III., the result will be sterility or scrofulous children. As an illustration of this variety of marriage, I may cite the first and second marriage of Napoleon I., and the present marriage of Napoleon III. Napoleon I. belonged to variety third, and both of his wives to variety second. The first was sterile and the second was no better; they had one child who lived to adult age and died of a scrofulous disease—consumption.

Napoleon the Third, belongs to the third variety and the Empress to the second and I infer that their son will go as Napoleon the Third did—that is provided the photograph I saw, which was said to be of the Empress, were a faithful picture of her.

Law 4. No marriage is physiologically legal unless one of the parties be of the first variety, and the other of variety second or third, and although this second party may appear to be in the abstract highly unpromising, yet the alliance will be attended with sound and viable children.

In the application of these laws there is room for the commission of serious mistakes, and the subject admits of no rule that is not thus liable, through hasty and imperfect observation; as females marry usually at an earlier age than men the error will most probably be committed in relation to the female; explanation—a young lady at the age of fourteen, fifteen or sixteen of the third variety may have much the appearance of being of the first variety; her suitor at the age of twenty-five or thirty

years is unmistakably of the third party, and is very properly seeking a wife out of the third class. He finds a Miss whom he admires and thinks to be of the first class, but this is a matter about which both of them should be certain. How is this to be had? Ascertain whether either of her parents belong to the second or third class, and if one of them do and she resembles that parent then she and her admirer will be incompatible in a few years, or as soon as she acquires a full development of her constitution. Of all the events incidental to human life that of marriage is incomparably the most important. A few weeks since a young physician addressed a young lady in the country and when he propounded to her the final question she responded affirmatively with this proviso, viz: if Dr. Powell says we are compatible; he came to the city and took me out to see her. She was wise.

A young lady in one of our western Territories wrote me nearly four years since inclosing a photograph of herself and also one of her affianced, and requested my opinion as to their fitness for marriage? In response I informed her that unless she was willing to accept one or the other of two alternatives she should not marry him. The alternatives were to live childless or become the mother of idiots: that one or the other would be her fate in the event of her marriage. She sent for her physician and allowed him the perusal of my letter; he read it, turned to her and said "Miss your correspondent is a presumptuous fool—how can he more than any one else tell what a child is before he sees it?" So it was she married him, and a few months since she wrote me saying "I am a mother and my doctor says my babe is an idiot, and I asked him if he did not now have confidence in your opinion? He answered, 'no more than I had before, for that his opinion is verified, is a mere coincidence!'" I feel it to be humiliating that such a blockhead should be in the medical profession.

But many people have yet to learn that the deductions of science are very frequently as reliable as demonstrations.

Socialism.

A letter has been put into our hands on the above subject, accompanied with the suggestion that we publish it, or a part of it. As the subject is to many vitally important, and as the writer is a large hearted philanthropist and a valued friend, we do it with pleasure.

"That the Ozark Movement was well conceived admits of no doubt—at least I think so. That it was frustrated, too, seems a merciful interposition of Providence. And now, from present appearances the Slave States won't be capable of entertaining or engraving a liberal population for at least fifty years to come. So I give up all notion of Reformers locating there. No, no, a Free State for Reformers.

"Now let me try and bring the 'Reform Neigh-

borhood' question into something of a focus. Supposing I could sport \$5,000 (wish I could). How could I piece it out? 1st, I would purchase 200 acres of land, to be divided among ten families—20 acres each, according to the printed slip I now send. I would give a lease to each for 99 years, at cost. Said lease not to be consummated under a year's probation, and not then unless approved. Upon the retirement of any incumbent, the lease to revert to myself, paying only for improvements. This would of course serve for some other worthy Reformer who might come along, and upon similar easy terms.

"Thus might be inaugurated as much of the Social principle as present Reformers were capable of, and that is but little at best. Never mind, our children could go a step farther; and that is the way I think it must be accomplished. It is said that Christ remarked—'The Kingdom of Heaven is within you.' There is a bit of sound reason in that abstract truth, too, showing that the said 'Kingdom of Heaven' is not so easily come-at-able, and not to be taken at a bound either, but to be approached by degrees.

* * * * *

"These reflections I send you for your investigation, upon the supposition of ten honest men being found who are capable of carrying the affair into practice. And then, as to getting rich under it, I contend that with such men we cannot but get rich in an associative capacity if we go judiciously and honestly about it, for no family can consume the produce of 20 acres, acting upon true principles of reason and common sense. In fine let me make an abstract thus :

"1st, Can you find ten men with \$500 apiece, who are willing to try this new kind of life. God knows it would be new indeed compared with the present thralldom. 2d, Can such persons come with their hearts in their hands and say, 'tis not for ourselves, but for our children, for Humanity??" 3d, Individual aggrandizement a secondary object. 4th, Wants few. 5th, Sacrificing everything personal for prospective happiness. 6th, Honest men.

* * * * *

Oh how happy men might be by observing a little prudence and honorable bearing toward one another, and living a life such as I now attempt to project. Instead of which we have nothing but meanness—the grossest avarice and selfish bearing toward each other, and all uncharitableness. Consequently happiness flies from us—no body is happy. Even the very beasts of the field enjoy life and are happy in their existence; but man, as the poet says :

" Plays such fantastic tricks before high Heaven,
As make the angels weep."

When will men be wise? Not in this generation. There is to me a singular mystery pervading this whole Social question, which I have never been able to penetrate; how that Man could make himself so happy if he only willed it, and at so little expense,

too! Is it that we of the present day, for our sins of omission and commission, are damned to misery and wretchedness, or what is it?"

Letter from L. C. Todd.

MR. EDITOR:—I have just received and perused the first Number of the "NEW REPUBLIC," I approve its ostensible objects, and herein enclose the "dollar." I think it contains many important ideas. It seems to ignore the artificial surface of things, and pitches down toward the bottom to bring up to light those great fundamental principles on which the progress and destiny of the race depend. Your Article on government and national troubles, contains radical truth. It shows that even "our government" "the best in the world" as every body says, is nevertheless, far, very far from what it should be. I believe every government that was ever organized by man, has been a hideous monster of usurpation and oppression. Its professed object has been to protect rights and prevent crime. But so far from accomplishing this object, its work has been to crush out Rights, and aggrandize a few at the expense of the masses. Government has perpetrated a hundred fold more crimes than it has ever prevented. It has laid its strong hand upon vast cities, and empires, and the genius and labor of ages have crumbled into ruin. Countless millions have bled and died upon the sanguinary altar of its ambition. As organized and administered, Government has been a great and terrible curse. Our Government is now struggling with a power, which it had sinfully fed and nursed into its present proportions, and now it has not sense enough to abolish and destroy the monster, which has seized upon its throat! I do not agree that our Government has no constitutional right to overthrow the diabolical institution of slavery. Selfprotection is its first principle, and it has a constitutional right, I think, to put down and annihilate any thing and every thing which proves to be incompatible with its existence and safety. I say "make way for Liberty." The slave Power has armed itself against the Government. Let it go down forever. I agree with you that, "the best Government is that which governs least." We have too complicated a system, too many law makers, and law expounders; too much taxation. I hold that Government has no right to do ought but defend the nation, and protect every individual in the free enjoyment of natural rights. This is its legitimate business. Were it confined to this, thousands of worthless officials might be dismissed, and the dear people would "work out their own salvation" much better without their interference. Whether the masses will ever become wise and good enough to know and assert their rights, and put an end to the bloody Despotisms that have cursed all past generations, is yet problematical. I hope but doubt it.

April, 1862. Respectfully yours,
L. C. Todd.

"The Government."

In a note received from the Proprietor of the NEW REPUBLIC, announcing his intention to publish a paper, by that name, and inviting co-operative correspondence, he says: "I shall sustain the Government, and shall not criticise it severely, except as in illustration of a false system." What expressions from others, on their own responsibility, he will feel free to allow, in regard to the Government, is to be ascertained. This may depend somewhat on his views as to the amount of responsibility taken upon himself by giving place to the utterances of others, with or without their own proper signatures.

Human Government of human beings is a necessity, an inevitability, in proportion to the prevalence of human ignorance. The more of knowledge, universally diffused, the less of Government. Intellectual and moral development work self-government, and do away with necessity and inclination for governing others, otherwise than by example in practical well-doing.

The most objectionable then, the most pernicious, then, the most abominable then, of all human government, is that which most tends to, and is most dependent on, the suppression of knowledge among the masses. Pronounce it human or pronounce it divine, read it on tables of stone, read it on paper bound in a book or on parchment preserved in whatever form, find it in organic law or in any other law, call it *by* whatever name, dignify it by whatever designation—if it drives away from the tree of knowledge, if it forbids eating fruit from the tree of knowledge, it is, to the extent it does this, a curse to mankind and not a blessing.

The controlling power in the United States Government hitherto has done this very thing, this abominable thing, this accursed thing. It has forbidden knowledge and its benefits to the producers, and monopolized them to the consumers. The tree of knowledge, "the tree in the midst of the garden"—these who have assumed to be as Gods unto others, these consumers of men, these devourers of their kind, have said to their victims, "ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it," lest ye become as we, and we as ye have to eat our bread in the sweat of our own faces, instead of eating it as we now do, in the sweat of your faces.

This state of things will continue as long as these consumers can thus victimize the producers, keeping them in ignorance by keeping them under such authority, and keeping them under such authority by keeping them in ignorance—depriving them of the means of obtaining knowledge by robbing them of their labor, and keeping them in a condition to be robbed of their labor by thus depriving them of knowledge.

The working of this "false system," this iniquitous, delumanizing system, whose predominating power is in a "peculiar institution" that has been styled "Sectional," is no sectional affair in its effects. This terrible power makes itself felt, feared, dreaded, in the North as well as in the South, in the East and in the West as well as in the North and in the South. Nor is it confined to a nation or limited to a continent in its doings. It disturbs the great deep and demoralizes the nations and distresses the continents beyond. It is a centre of demoralization whose circumference is indefinite and undefinable. It is a conspiracy against human rights and human freedom, whose designs and aims are without bounds or limits.

Government and war, war and government, are mutual and inseparable. All government—except self-government, moral government, government by example in well-doing—involves war, is war, in its various forms, phases and proportions. War wastes life, wastes time, wastes treasure, wastes the means and destroys the ways for obtaining knowledge, and carries back into barbarism and brutishness, and thus renews and keeps up the cause for protracting government.

The government idea and the war idea are at last identical in this—it is to rule or ruin. No matter what the government—blood and treasures to any and every extent are extorted from the governed, as proper and indispensable sacrifice, as "reasonable service." True, there has been much talk about an idea that government should be subservient to the interests of the people—should exist and be used for the benefit of the people. But this "should-be" never has been—as it should be. Government has always at its own pleasure, for its own sake, set aside, trodden down and trampled out the rights and liberties of the governed.

We are told and taught that the work of our present war is to demonstrate that we "have a government." This is the work of all wars carried on by governments. All wars instituted and prosecuted by governments, are for power to govern. The most remorseless and rapacious tyrant does nothing worse than to wage war to know whether or not he has a government. And the United States government proposes nothing as yet better than to perpetuate itself in the perpetration of crimes against humanity that no absolute monarch on earth has power to perpetrate. It is not pretended—in this waste of a nation's blood and treasure, on a scale terrifying and revolting to the surrounding world—to do anything for morality, equity or justice, anything for right or righteousness, anything for freedom or humanity. It is to do all simply and solely for the re-establishment of a government confessedly the guarantee, the patron, the servant of a system the most iniquitous and inhuman. To consider and know what our Government is, is thrown out of the question. It is enough now to fight and replace

things in **STATU QUO ANTE BELLUM**. And what was the state of things antecedent to the war? The universal, deafening, overwhelming clamor has been, and continues to be, that ours has been the fairest fabric of Government that the sun has shone on and that mankind have been blessed with. With the next breath, they who have made themselves hoarse iterating and reiterating this senseless, thoughtless exclamation, will tell us that this constitutional government has, during its entire existence, been under the constitutional control of an oligarchy who have made it a most intolerable despotism and a most corrupting and depraving immorality, resulting in this anarchy and ruin. This latter is the plain truth. Of course the former is an egregious error, a fatal mistake, an irretrievable blunder—irretrievable, only because the blindness and self-complacency accompanying the annunciation are symptoms, under the attending circumstances, indicating a case of a nature and at a stage incurable. The fatal effect of the fantasy is to turn our eyes backward when we should be traveling forward. It keeps us wrangling for the preservation of dying folly, when we should be agonizing for the development of living wisdom.

The insane, idiotic boast, as to the perfection of the United States Government, accompanied so closely with the involuntary confession that it has been a Government constitutionally placed in the power of the aspiring despotic thousands, to be used in lording it over the subject millions, goes with the wisdom and consistency of a certain statesman boasted of as being the wisest in the present administration of this model Government. This statesman, to whom is improperly accorded the originating of "irrepressible conflict" in our governmental elements, after repeating this most significant stolen utterance very prominently and very pompously just before the war began—this sagacious statesman, soon after the war began, proclaimed his profound astonishment at the war. He waked in the morning and beheld it all as a dream. It was no reality to him. It took him all aback. It was nothing he had been looking for.

Our Government then is not only pregnant with war—it is prolific of insincerity, hypocrisy, cant.

Our Government is peculiar in its war qualities and adaptations. It could not have been more perfectly organized and made up of elements necessitating war, interneccive, exterminating war, if study and ingenuity had been employed to that end. Put science under contribution, set surveyors to work, ransack the whole kingdom of nature, let chemists experiment—more hostile elements, more deadly antagonisms cannot be found and brought together than are undertaken to be forced into fellowship in this Union. A Union that cannot secure "freedom of speech".* A Union that cannot protect "the citizens of each State" in the enjoyment of "the privileges and immunities of the citi-

zens in the several States".† A Union that cannot prevent "persons" being "deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law".‡ A Union that cannot prevent the infliction of "cruel and unjust punishments",||—even to burning alive and scourging to death.

[It will be the purpose of a future effort to show the impropriety, the absurdity, of re-enacting the Constitutional compromise on which this attempted Union has been based.]

ORSON S. MURRAY.

*Art. I., Amendments U. S. Constitution.

† " IV., Sec. 2, " "

‡ " V. Amendments " "

|| VIII., " "

PROSPECTUS

OF THE

N E W R E P U B L I C .

At a time so momentous as the present, there is an imperative demand for the exercise of all the wisdom, heroism, self-sacrifice, charity, and the forgetting of all past differences, and the sinking of all worldly ambition, in one sublime, prayerful, determined, brotherly effort to save our beloved country from the terrible ruin that more than threatens to swallow up our liberties, prosperity, peace. How to conquer the rebels, is not all of the great problem that must be settled before there is any certainty that we, as a Nation, have anything in the future to hope for.

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question in such a manner as not to involve the sacrifice of freedom, freedom, human rights, a sound policy and the Nation's honor; on the one hand, or unconstitutional and despotic methods on the other. It will advocate a radical reorganization in politics and governmental administration, so far as there has been a departure from the Jeffersonian Platform, and systematic and persistent violation of the fundamental principles of the Government. It will be an especial advocate of simplicity and economy in Government, and attempt to demonstrate the correctness of the adage that "that Government is best that governs least." It will advocate a uniform and national system of currency, a uniform and humane system of prison discipline, uniform marriage and divorce laws, a new and improved system of representation, and present suggestive ideas on the subject of schools, internal improvements, post-office regulations &c. It will also give the thoughts of the ablest writers on Anthropological and Physiological science.

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